

ANTI-FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW MEETING.

At a large Meeting of persons from various parts of the State of New York, held in the City of Syracuse January 9th 1851, and of which FREDERICK DOUGLASS was President, the following Resolutions and Address were unanimously adopted. The Address is the same, and, with an inconsiderable exception, the Resolutions are the same, as those, which were reported by GERRIT SMITH to the State Convention held in said City, January 7th, 8th, 9th, 1851 :

RESOLUTIONS.

1st. Resolved, that we pour out upon the Fugitive Slave Law the fullest measure of our contempt and hate and execration; and pledge ourselves to resist it actively, as well as passively, and by all such means, as shall, in our esteem, promise the most effectual resistance.

2d. Resolved, that they, who consent to be the agents of Southern oppressors for executing this law, whether as Commissioners, or Marshals, or in any other capacity, are to be regarded as kidnappers and land-pirates.

3d. Resolved, that it is our duty to peril life, liberty, and property, in behalf of the fugitive slave, to as great an extent, as we would peril them in behalf of ourselves.

4th. Resolved, that obviously and grossly Unconstitutional as is this Law, nevertheless this is not the chief reason why we condemn and defy it:—for equally, whether they are Constitutional or Unconstitutional, do we condemn, and defy all laws, which insult Him, who is above all Constitutions, and which, aiming not to protect, but to destroy, rights, are, therefore, to be regarded as no laws.

5th. Resolved, that, horrible as is this law, we must bear in mind, that it is but a perfectly natural and not at all to be wondered at enactment of slavery: and that, hence, our first and great work is to get rid, not of the law, but of slavery—as it would be our first and great work to pursue and kill the mad-dog, instead of pausing, until we had effected the cure of one of his bites.

6th. Resolved, that between corrupt politicians on the one hand and corrupt churches on the other—between the politicians and parties, who enacted this Law, and the priests, who are preaching its enforcement—there is no hope for this Nation, unless it shall very speedily be brought to prefer honesty to knavery, both in its religious teachers and civil rulers.

7th. Resolved, that the current religion of the country to be exchanged for plain fidelity, the abolition of slavery would be comparatively easy.

8th. Resolved, that when the immortal writer of the Declaration of Independence said: "If we do not liberate the enslaved by the generous energy of our own minds, they must, they will, be liberated by the awful process" of St. Domingo Emancipation; he uttered words, which there is but too much reason to believe are rapidly approaching their fulfilment.

9th. Resolved, that, inasmuch as sound principles and sound teachers are as indispensable in our Institutions of Learning, as in our pulpits, we rejoice to know, that, under the progress of the antislavery sentiment, there are already several Colleges in our country, which are open to colored students; and that there are two of these, in which colored students find themselves emphatically at home. These are Oberlin College in Ohio, and Central College in New York—in the latter of which there is a colored Professor.

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10th. Resolved, that, inasmuch as every National party in this Nation must, because it is a National party, spare, if not indeed, positively favor, slavery, it follows, that whoever belongs to the Whig or Democratic party, or to any ecclesiastical National party, does, however unwillingly or unwittingly, give his influence and support to slavery.

11th. Resolved, that the time has come, and had long ago come, for gathering a Northern political party, which shall be both determined and able to carry out the principles of the Federal Constitution and the principles of humanity and religion, in overthrowing the base and bloody system of American slavery, and in establishing a righteous Civil Government.

12th. Resolved, that we welcome the presence in this Convention of William L. Chaplin; and render thanks to Almighty God for having preserved him alive, whilst under the blows and threats of murderous ruffians, and whilst in the dreary prisons, to which villainous and piratical Governments had committed him.

13th. Resolved, that, instead of rebuking and scorning, we honor and love, this dear brother for having done that for which Jesus Christ will say unto him before an assembled world: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, ye have done it unto me".

14th. Resolved, that if William L. Chaplin has done violence to the principles of republicanism and christianity, in suffering a couple of his fellow-men to seek to promote their escape from slavery by getting into his carriage, then are republicanism and christianity the deadliest enemies of humanity, and the cruellest lies, that have ever been propagated.

15th. Whereas, notwithstanding the considerable amount of donations toward effecting the liberation of our brother Chaplin, he was obliged, by reason of the exorbitant bail required of him, to borrow large sums of money from various individuals; Resolved, therefore, that we deeply sympathize with him under his pecuniary embarrassments, and warmly desire, that the benevolent may soon relieve him of them.

16th. Resolved, that the liberation of Chaplin is an occasion for remembering afresh, and pitying afresh, Drayton and Sayre; and for calling afresh on this hypocritical and cruel Nation to set these outraged and afflicted brethren at liberty.

17th. Whereas, inasmuch as the imprisonment of Drayton and Sayre for aiding their fellow men to escape from the horrors of slavery, is an imprisonment for what not only humanity and religion pronounce a virtue; but for what the law of the Declaration of Independence, since it declares "that all men are created

equal," pronounces a virtue; and for what the law of the Federal Constitution, since it declares its object to be "to establish justice and secure the blessings of liberty," does, also, pronounce a virtue; Resolved, therefore, that it would be, not a lawless act, but a lawful, as well as humane and religious act, to demolish the prison of these philanthropists, and let them go free.

A D D R E S S .

To the People of the State of New York :

A recent law of Congress calls on you to assist in reducing your fellow men to slavery. Were these fellow men criminals, slavery would be a punishment beyond, and infinitely beyond, their deserts. To subject a man to the most capricious, cruel, and irrepressible, despotism—a despotism too, which absolutely annihilates all his rights, and sinks him from manhood to chattelhood—is more than is due to even the greatest crimes. But these fellow men are not criminals. They are your peaceable, guiltless, harmless, neighbors. And they are not sensible to the wrongs inflicted upon them. They have interests and sensibilities like your own. They love wife and children, even as you do. As susceptible, as yourselves, are they of joy and sorrow. As sweet to them, as to you, is liberty. And when bereaved of this priceless blessing, their desolation and wretchedness are as perfect, as would be your own, under the like bereavement.

Why then, if these things are so, should you do the great wrong of reducing these innocent people to slavery? The answer to this inquiry is, that law commands it. We admit our reverence and love for law, and our obligation to obey it. We say, with the Apostle, that "the law is holy, and the commandment holy, and just and good." But, then, all is not law, which is called law. That, which lacks truth, and justice, and all the elements of law, is, at the most, but nominal law. Genuine and real law is for the protection of rights. It is shame law, and no law, which is for the destruction of rights. But slavery desolates the whole field of human rights. It denies not one right to its victims. Hence, every law in favor of slavery is, most emphatically, sham law—is, most emphatically, no law.

But, it is said, that the law in question must be obeyed, because it is a Constitutional law, and because the Constitution called for the law. We see nothing, however, to justify the enactment of this law in that provision of the Constitution, which the law was enacted to enforce. If that provision calls for any legislation, it is, most certainly, State, and not National, legislation. But were it so, that it calls for National legislation, it would, of course, be such, as does no violence, and attempts no violence, to the provision of the Constitution, respecting the *Writ of Habeas Corpus*, or to that respecting the right of trial by jury, or to any other of its provisions. Again—this law was enacted for the sole purpose of replunging into slavery those, who had fled from its horrors. But by no fair construction of language can this provision be said to refer to fugitives from slavery. It is said, however, that, notwithstanding the Constitution is, upon its surface, and in its obvious meaning, a paper against slavery, there is, nevertheless, in this and in some other of its provisions, a hidden meaning, *for* slavery. To this we reply, that it is quite enough to pass from an obvious to an occult meaning of words—from the certain meaning of words to some one of the ten thousand of their uncertain historical and traditional meanings—even when this is done for the furtherance of the cause of justice—but, that to do this for the purpose of gaining success for injustice and villainy, and injustice and villainy of unsurpassed enormity, is to go very far beyond the limits of endurance.

What, however, if this law were in harmony with the Constitution?—that would be no authority for the law, if the law is contrary to truth. Constitutions and laws, so far as they are repugnant to truth, are void. If the great Apostle had to confess, that he could "do nothing against the truth, but for the truth," the like confession must be made for Constitutions and laws. They are powerless against the everlasting bulwarks of reason and religion.

Because it is the sacred work of our fathers is another of the reasons assigned, why we must obey the Constitution and every part of it. Our brief, only, and sufficient, answer to this is, that whatever respect we owe to our dead fathers, we owe more to the living God.

We are told, too, that, if we reject the Constitution, or any part of it, we cannot consistently, and cannot, of right, vote under it:—and that, hence, we must cling to it, and to every part of it, in order to save to ourselves the precious and important right of suffrage—the precious and important right of participating in the choice of our civil rulers. In answer to this we declare, that it is a very gross and a very pernicious fallacy, that our right to vote is created by, and held under, the Constitution. Our right to select our civil rulers comes from God; inheres in our social being; and overrides all Constitutions and enactments. It is true, that men are at liberty to provide their conventional regulations for the exercise of this right:—but they cannot create the right, or take it away, or at all encroach upon it. Hence, the provision of the Federal Constitution, which makes the taking of a certain oath the condition of the chosen ruler's entering upon the duties of his office, should be repealed, because it is in derogation of the natural and absolute right of the people to choose their rulers. Hence, too, they are wrong, manifestly wrong, who, because of this required oath, relinquish, or hold in abeyance, this natural and absolute right. They should persevere in the exercise of it; as did the constituents of Daniel O'Connell—and if any, whom they wish to make rulers, shall have conscience against taking the oath of office, they should, nevertheless, elect them. Their perseverance would be as successful, as was the perseverance of O'Connell's constituents. The oath would be waived, when refused; or, better still, it would be withdrawn from the Constitution.

But, in answer to all our reasons for not obeying this law for making slaves of our neighbors, we are told, that we must obey it for the reason, that Civil Government must be obeyed. It is true, that Civil Government must be obeyed. But, the command to obey it comes to us with the limitation, which accompanies the command to obey our parents. If we must obey our parents, only "in the Lord"—that is, only to the extent, that their commands harmonize with the Divine commands—so must we obey Civil Government with the like qualification. Civil Government is, to the same extent, that every person is, subject to the supreme and immutable laws of God; and whosoever it violates those laws, it is entitled to no authority or obedience.

The doctrine, that wrong may be done, if commanded by Civil Government, is utterly fallacious. It is a doctrine which found no favor with the young Hebrews, who preferred the fiery furnace to obeying a sinful command of the Government. Nor did it find any favor with him, who had rather be cast into the lion's den than comply with a wicked requirement of the Government. The Apostles, too, refused to obey such a requirement: and they based their refusal expressly on the ground of the paramount authority of God.

We are admonished to obey this law, as we would escape the crime, and the peril, of rebellion. But, when the Civil Government tramples on the Divine authority, it is the Civil Government, which is the rebel—and not the citizen, who refuses to follow it. The Government, which has enacted this diabolical law, has involved itself in the deepest and guiltiest rebellion—rebellion against Jehovah Himself. But the citizen, who refuses to bear a part in enforcing it, keeps himself clear of the sin of rebellion.

We are summoned, in the name of patriotism, to obey this law. But this law, being treason to God and man, we cannot serve our country by obeying it. "Righteousness exalteth a nation":—and whosoever we shall be invoked by a true patriotism, it will be to a course of righteousness. It will invoke us to honor, and not to insult, God, to stand by, and not to oppress, His poor.

We are told, that we are not at liberty to decide for ourselves what is Constitutional and lawful; and the further falsehood is added, that the Constitution appoints the Judges under it its sole expounders. We are also, told to listen submissively to what eminent clergymen pronounce to be the ethics in the case. But, whilst we scout the papal doctrine, which would bind our conscience by other men's interpretations of religion, we hold in no higher esteem the equally lying doctrine, which denies our right to judge for ourselves what is Constitutional and lawful.

We see, then, that no pleas of respect for law, or for Civil Government, or for the Constitution, or for any of its expounders, or for any of the expounders of Christianity, and that no threats of the stigma or punishment of rebellion, and no appeals in the name of patriotism, should be allowed to have the effect to bring us to the side of this infernal and horrible law. Come these pleas, and threats, and appeals, from the Meetings, which commercial and political men are getting up all over the North, under the name of "Union Meetings"; or come they from the mercenariness and knaves, who have got possession of so large a share of the American pulpits; we are to be deaf to them all.

The way is, now, prepared for us to say, that we will resist this law;—will resist it, at all hazards of property, or liberty, or life—and by all such means, as shall promise to him, who uses them, the most effectual resistance. We cannot be christians, we cannot be men, and do otherwise. He is no christian, and he has sunk his manhood out of sight, who can join in the attempt to reduce his innocent neighbor and brother to slavery; or who can witness such attempt, without striving to defeat it. This is not extravagant language in European ears; and if it is such in American ears, it is only because slavery has subsidized the American press and pulpit, and benighted, infatuated, and debauched, the American people. It is manifest, that, wherever slavery reigns, there must be a very imperfect perception of the claims of humanity and religion.

Fellow citizens! we stop not with exhorting you to trample this law under foot. This law is one, and but one, of the demands of American slavery: upon you—and, as long as American slavery lives, it will, ever and anon, be putting forth demands: upon you—demands, all of which will be deeply revolting to an enlightened conscience and a sound humanity. Your war with this law is, therefore, not to be limited to this law:—but it is to be extended to slavery itself. For, until slavery is overthrown, you will be continually exposed to its tyrannous and galling claims. For your own sake, then, you have need to strike at slavery. But, if so, how much more should you strike at it, for the slave's sake! If you, who are amid but the outer and feebler reaches of the power of slavery, are, nevertheless, so impatient under that power, what must not be the agony of those, who are in the very centre of its iron grasp? If you, who are in but the penumbra of slavery, complain so much of its chilling shadows, how horrid must be their condition, who are in the blackness of its darkness! Oh, to be a slave! To wake, every morning, with the consciousness of being a slave! To carry the weary load of this consciousness, all the day long! Surely, surely, earth has no other lot, so hard as that of the slave!

Does slavery, then, concern you for yourselves? Immeasurably more should it concern you for the millions of your enslaved countrymen. Is it your duty to deliver yourselves from its toils? Infinitely higher is your duty to free the slave. What hinders you from giving this help? Say you, that the Constitution does? We admit, that, in most of the interpretations of that instrument, there is an abundance of proslavery. But, we affirm, that, in the instrument itself, there is none. We admit, that proslavery is to be found in

some of the clashing and uncertain histories of the instrument. But, we affirm, that, for the purpose of interpreting it, we have nothing to do with these histories; and that we are to determine its character and claims from its pages, and not from its histories. We admit; that there is some historical evidence, that certain persons had the purpose to get slavery into the Constitution. But, the question is—did they get it in? Their purpose is nothing, if it was not successful.

What, however, if the Constitution, instead of regulating, as it clearly does, the immediate extinction of slavery, requires it to be upheld—vain, altogether vain, is such requirement against the obligations, which flow from the natural and unchangeable relations of man to each other. These relations, being before and above any relations created by the Constitution, must be sustained and honored, even though all artificial and conventional relations do thereby perish.

Is it said, that we are not to interfere with the institutions of our sister States?—and that slavery in Virginia or Georgia is beyond our legitimate reach? We answer, that, wherever in our own Nation, or in any other Nation, the rights of men are cloven down, there is a work for us to do, in behalf of our common humanity. Neither by State, nor National, lines are our sympathies to be bounded;—and, wherever our sympathies are called for, thither should we go in person, if that be needful to unloose our sympathies most effectively. It is a fiction of men, instead of the truth of God, that we have not the right to help such of the oppressed, as dwell beyond the limits of our State, or Nation. The same right have we to fly to the succor of the oppressed Italian or Hungarian, as to redress the wrongs of our countrymen and neighbors. It is tyrants, who are not willing to be disturbed in their oppression of their subjects.—It is these, who have instilled into the well nigh universal mind the lesson, that a man has no right to carry his philanthropic efforts beyond his own country. But that lesson is scorned, wherever the doctrine of the human brotherhood is intelligently and lovingly apprehended. Draw as many lines upon the surface of the earth, and make as many Nations, as you will, this can, in no wise, affect our rights, which pertain to membership in the human family. These were as fully the rights of the Samaritan, when in Judea, as when in Samaria;—and, hence, his liberty to minister to human want, as well in the one Nation, as in the other. These rights are unimpaired in the beloved Joseph Sturge and Ellhu Burritt;—and, hence, their liberty to go among the contending powers of Europe for the purpose of making peace. They are unimpaired in the eloquent and excellent George Thompson also;—and, hence, he may come to the shores of America to plead the cause of the down-trodden. It is true, that Sturge and Burritt are not Danes, and that Thompson is not an American. But, Sturge and Burritt are brothers of Danes and Thompson is the brother of Americans; and, surely, one brother has the right to help another, meet they, where they may, in the wide world.

Deny our right to deliver the millions of our countrymen, who are crushed in the iron folds of slavery! Why, if wherever a nominal christianity prevails, (and the prevailing christianity of no nation is more than nominal), there were a real christianity, then would it be acknowledged, over all Christendom, that, to break up the nest of plagues in our Southern States, and to break up every other nest of plagues, is the first work of Christianity, and a work to which no State nor National boundaries should be suffered to present any impediments.

We presume not, fellow citizens, to prescribe what you shall do for the overthrow of American slavery: It is for you to determine, as you are able to do wisely, by what means you shall undertake to compass this object. But, we cannot close this Address, without reminding you, that, in vain will be all your efforts to this end, whilst you are identified with American religion or American politics. These are the great props of American slavery. America boasts of her republicanism and also of her religion. But, there is not in the wide world another such compound of hypocrisy, meanness, and cruelty, as is to be seen in her republicanism, and, also, in her religion. We mean by American religion, that religion, which our National ecclesiastical parties have gotten up for the purpose of accommodating the men-thieves of the South and their guiltier partners in the North—that religion, which, only the other day, shut out men from an Episcopal Convention for no other reason than the color of their skins—that religion, whose cunning, calculating ministers from one end of your State to the other—from the Spencers of Brooklyn to the Lords of Buffalo—are preaching obedience to the law, which calls on you to sink your fellow men into the Hell of slavery. We mean by American politics that mixture, which our National political parties have skillfully adapted to the palates of the dealers in human flesh at the South, and to the palates of the dealers in Southern cotton at the North, and to the palates of office-seekers, both North and South. We mean by American politics the Whig and Democratic politics, which enacted that law, under the terrors of which "the poor of the earth hide themselves together", or fly affrighted to the wilds and snows of Canada; and under the power of which parents, children, husbands, wives, are dragged down into the matchless horrors of slavery. We mean by American politics the politics, which crowd the numberless "Union Meetings" of the North with Whig and Democratic traitors to Freedom and to God. We mean by American politics the politics, which have, so recently and so suddenly, led the Whig and Democratic parties, both in and out of Congress, to adopt the hush-policy in regard to slavery. Many of their Newspapers have, ere now, uttered brave words against slavery;—but even these have nearly all found themselves obliged to come into this hush-policy.

We scarcely need add, that the base, haggard, murderous creatures, which we have declared American politics and American religion to be, must, necessarily, so long as slavery is the ruling interest of the Nation, be the politics and the religion—the one of our National political parties, and the other of our National ecclesiastical parties: For, it is manifest, that the South, so long as she is under the sway of slavery, will come into no party—will abide in no party, whether in Church or State—that does not conform to the demands of slavery. Whatever, then, you shall, or shall not, undertake to do for the overthrow of American slavery, it is obvious, as we have virtually said before, that you can do nothing effectual to this end, only in so far, as you are extricated from the meshes of National parties, both political and ecclesiastical. To be in any such parties is to be, whether you know it or not, and whether you will it or not, on the side of slavery.

We take pleasure in admitting, that there are many persons in the Whig and Democratic parties, who cherish a sincere desire for the abolition of slavery, and who make more or less effort to this end. But, it is manifest, that the antislavery influence of such desire and effort is as nothing, compared with the proslavery influence, which they exert in sustaining a mighty proslavery party. Surely, surely, if an individual would maintain his power at any point, he must not join and sustain a party, which is exerting a counter power at that point.

So, too, do we take pleasure in admitting, that there are many persons in the Whig and Democratic parties, who cherish a sincere desire for the repeal or nullification of the Fugitive slave law, and who make more or less effort to this end. But preeminently absurd is the idea, that they are in effect, as well as in desire and effort, against this law. For, not only is it true, that these parties are desperately proslavery, and, from the fact of their being National parties, necessarily proslavery; but it is also true, that this law has become the great bond of union in the case of each of these parties, and that each of them is to be kept from dissolution, only so long as this law is unrepented and enforced. If he then, who adheres to a party, which is held together by the continuance and cement of this satanic law, may be honest in believing, that the might of his influence can be against the law, he is, nevertheless, foolish in entertaining such a belief. The Whig and Democratic parties made the law. The Whig and Democratic parties uphold the law. The Whig and Democratic parties must, on penalty of being broken up, continue to uphold the law. Nothing, then, is more plain than that the first work of him, who is in one of these parties, and who would contribute to put an end to this law, is to break out of his party, and to cease to vote for slaveholders, and for the makers, and defenders, and keepers, of slave-catching and slave-holding laws. Do what else he will, he is, until he does this, for the law. Until he does this, he is to be held responsible for the murderous law, instead of being fellowshipped by its consistent and effective enemies. His first work is his own repentance, instead of bringing others to repentance:—and for us to admit, that he can espouse our cause, and stand by our side, without having done this first work, is for us to cheapen, and disgrace, and condemn ourselves, our position, and our cause.

This Nation is perishing, because of its National parties: and whoever would contribute to save it must stand aloof from them. The most reasonable hope, that the Free Soil party, which was organized in this State, two or three years ago, would prove useful, was grounded in the fact, that it was not a National party. And it might, possibly, have proved useful in some respects, had it continued to be a Northern party. But, the loaves and fishes are to be found in National parties: and as it was these, more than the success of the antislavery cause, that the majority of its leaders were after, it is no mystery, that this party has, with honorable exceptions among its members, identified itself with a National party. Free Soil parties were organized, about that time, in several other States. But little or no good will come from them, notwithstanding, that many noble men are in them. These parties refuse to be concerned for the three millions of slaves in the States:—and, in respect to fugitive slaves, the highest ground, which even their Mr. Giddings takes, in his late Free Soil Speech, is, that, whilst they will not hinder the fiend-work of replunging them into slavery, they will not help it. It is, nevertheless, by means of such parties, that these good men expect to accomplish good. Alas, when will even good men give up their atheistic contrivances for doing good? Why should they hope for success in a policy, which is counter to the Divine policy? God's is the positive and glorious policy of doing good. Theirs is the negative and miserable policy of doing no harm. He denounces not him only, who makes the poor cry, but him also, who "stoppeth his ears at the cry of the poor". He denounces not him only, who draws his fellow men unto death, but him also who "forbears to deliver them, that are drawn unto death". The Free Soil parties flatter themselves, that God denounces but the slave-holder. No less, however, does He denounce them, who suffer the slave to be held. The Free Soil parties flatter themselves, that God denounces but the slave-catcher. But, no less certain and fearful are His denunciations against them, who suffer the slave to be caught.

The excuse of these Free Soil parties, for keeping themselves within this circle of negations, is that the Federal Constitution keeps them there. Unhappy reading of the Constitution is theirs! But, what if the Constitution is, as they read it? What, in that case, have they to do, but to break away from it, as they should from every "covenant with death and agreement with Hell"? None of us are absolutely bound to be Constitutionals. But all of us are absolutely bound to be men. If we cannot be Constitutionals, and yet be men; then we cannot be Constitutionals. If we cannot follow the Constitution without forsaking our manhood, then we cannot follow the Constitution. If to claim, that God has made us keepers of all our brothers—of our brother, who is pining in slavery, and of our brother, who is escaping from it—is to disobey the Constitution, then we must disobey it.

Happy, thrice happy, would it be, were the good men of the land to constitute a political party, which should be intent on realizing the idea of a righteous Civil Government—a Government, which would sympathize with the slave, and the landless, and protect its subjects from the curse of war, and the curse of the traffic in intoxicating drinks. How soon such a party would rid the country of slavery, and land-monopoly, and rum-selling, and save the earnings of its laborers from being wasted on war and the preparations for war! But, so it is, that the good men of the land do, with few exceptions, belong to the National political parties—and these are proslavery, land-monopoly, war, and rum-selling parties! What infatuation in such men to belong to such parties! And what infatuation would it be in us to hope for the advancement of our country in the cause of truth and virtue and religion, whilst the great mass

of her good men are found in such wicked and pernicious connexions! Make up your minds, fellow citizens, that your country must perish, unless the good men in it hasten to quit the national, and because national, proslavery parties. We beg you not to misunderstand us, at this point. We do not hold, that a civil Government, however perfect in its theory, or in its administration, is the source of salvation. Religion alone has this honor!—and Civil Government is but her servant. She will, however, undertake no contradictions. She will not seek to save the world by means and agencies hostile to its salvation. She will not employ to this end war, instead of peace; drunkenness, instead of temperance; licentiousness, instead of purity; nor unrighteous Civil Government, unrighteous civil rulers, and unrighteous political parties, instead of their opposites.

Our last words are to the colored people of the State of New-York: and, in speaking to them, we speak to the colored people of all the Northern States also. Brethren, we need your help to overthrow the bloody and anemic system of American slavery. We cannot dispense with it. Much less can we afford to have you an obstacle in our way. So it is, however, that you have, hitherto, been such an obstacle. The Colonization Society, which you hate with a great, but not too great, hatred, proposes to remove you to Africa. Your reply to this proposal is, that you must remain here to sympathize with your enslaved brethren, and help deliver them. Pardon us for saying, that you wholly mistake the effect of your presence. Were you removed from the land, the work of delivering the slave would not be half as difficult, as it now is. You are the mill-stone around his neck. It is true, that, were your conduct and character what they should be, the effect of your presence would be most favorable to the slave. Indeed, he could not, in that case, remain a slave.

What is most needful for the deliverance of the enslaved is, that their oppressors shall see them to be men. If they shall see these, whom they abuse and trample under foot, to be men—Heaven-endowed, immortal men—the sight will render them morally incapable of continuing their guilty relation. They will fly back from that relation, horror-struck at the revelation of its enormities. But, how, by any other means, could they be brought so effectually to see the manhood and dignity of their slaves, as in the light of your conduct and character, were but that conduct and character what they should be, for self-denial, purity, beauty, and elevation? Nothing is more true than that that part of the race, which is out of slavery, reflects the advantage, or, disadvantage, of its character—of its excellence or debasement—upon that part of the race, which is still in slavery. An instance of this truth is in the slaveholders' habit of justifying their enslavement of your brethren by the standing and plausible, and greatly influential, plea of your degradation—of your unfitness for freedom.

You admit your degradation:—but you seek to excuse it on the ground, that it is forced—that it is involuntary. An involuntary degradation! We are half disposed to deny its possibility; and to treat the language as a solecism. At any rate, we feel comparatively no concern for what of your degradation comes from the hands of others. It is your *self-degradation*, which fills us with sorrow—sorrow for yourselves, and still more for the millions, whose fate turns so largely on your bearing. We know, and it grieves us to know, that white men are your murderers. But, our far deeper grief is, that you are suicides.

Would to God, brethren, that you were inspired with self-respect! Then would others be inspired with respect for you:—and, then, would the days of American slavery be numbered. We entreat you to rise up, and to quit yourselves like men, in all your political, and ecclesiastical, and social, relations. As instances of your lack of self-respect—many of you consent to worship in Churches, which have the negro-pew; and many of you are in connexion with proslavery ecclesiastical bodies, and have Church-fellowship with these, who buy and sell you: brethren, and who, of course, have no moral principle against buying and selling you; and many of you belong to the same political parties with the slaveholders, and the upholders of slavery, and the upholders of the "Fugitive slave law"; and, so entirely prostrate is your self-respect, that you go to the polls, and vote for men, who refuse to eat with you—to sit by your side in the House of Worship—or let their children sit by the side of yours in the School, and who would kick you out of their parlors, were you to presume to enter them. Say we not truly, brethren, that you are the heaviest burden, which the antislavery cause has to carry? Indeed, compared with this, all its other burdens are light.

Perhaps, it will be said, in excuse for your abjectness and self-contempt, that, so long as you are clustered in cities and villages, and confined to servile employments, your spirit must, necessarily, be servile, your votes at the disposal of your employers, and your religion whatever is most convenient. Why, then, do you not scatter yourselves over the country in the capacity of independent and upright farmers and mechanics?

All truly good men do, of course, sympathize with you. You are oppressed—deeply, cruelly, wickedly, oppressed;—and that is reason enough, why they should sympathize with you. Nevertheless, great injustice is done to Daniel Webster, Lewis Cass, and others, when they are taxed with inconsistency for passing over you, and giving their sympathies to the Hungarians. Daniel Webster and Lewis Cass and the like belong to the vulgar herd of men, and when has that vulgar herd been known to sympathize with a people, simply because they were oppressed? Never! There must be heart, where there is such sympathy. But all men, including even such selfish and prostituted persons, as Daniel Webster and Lewis Cass, are capable of sympathizing with the brave, self-denying, and heroic endeavors, which, here and there, the oppressed put forth to throw off their oppressions. Hence, the interest of Daniel Webster, Lewis Cass, and the like, in the Hungarians, whilst, at the same time, they forget others, who are more heavily oppressed, but who, nevertheless, instead of arousing themselves, like the Hungarians, to put an end to their oppressions, have sunk down tamely, and servilely, and helplessly, under them.

Let the colored people of the North display bravery, and self-sacrifice, and heroism, in their own behalf, and in behalf of their brethren in bonds:—let them be seen "in every city to gather themselves together and to stand for their life", as did the handful of oppressed Jews in the reign of King Ahasuerus; and let them be seen resolved to perish rather than return to slavery: or let them be seen sternly refusing to consume the products, which are heavy with the groans and wet with the sweat, and tears, and blood, of the slave: or let them be seen as sternly refusing to worship with the devil-worshippers, who build negro-pews: or as sternly refusing to go into political parties, in which slaveholders feel at home, and to vote for their oppressors, traitors, and despisers:—let such things, we say, be seen in the colored people of the North, and it requires no spirit of prophecy to foretell, that such things will have power to enlist the sympathies, and extort the praise and admiration of all men. Even Daniel Webster and Lewis Cass, now negro-murderers, will then be negro-admirers. Then Daniel S. Dickinson, exchanging for a genuine reverence the spirit in him, which he deems to be a reverent, but which is only a spaniel and servile spirit, will desire to be carried back to Old Virginia, no longer for the purpose of kissing the feet of her slaveholding patriarchs, but for the purpose of honoring her black men. And, then, even the slaveholders, throwing away their whips and branding-irons, will join the abolitionists.

Brethren, we are not unmindful, that, in speaking to you, and of you, as we have done, we have spoken plainly and freely. But, we have spoken honestly and truly. We admit, and we take pleasure in admitting, that what we have spoken does not apply to you all. There are among you men, who would sooner lay down their lives than join a proslavery Church, or a proslavery political party. These are men of self-respect and self-denial—men of the heroic and the martyr-spirit. May God multiply such, and make them an effectual leaven in the mass of their servile and self-degraded brethren.

In conclusion, we disclaim the idea, that your character has suffered more from your unfavorable circumstances than the character of white men would have suffered from the like circumstances. Had white men been under as protracted and severe a process of debasement, as you have been, there would, doubtless, be quite as much to lament in their condition and character, as there is in yours. But, let it not soothe and content you to know, that you differ from your white brethren, not in your origin and nature, but only in your circumstances; and that to your circumstances, and not to your origin and nature, is your lack of dignity and self-esteem attributable. Feel, deeply feel, that you have fallen:—and that, whatever the causes or explanations of your fall, you will rise. Feel, deeply feel, that, cost what it may, you will be what you should be.

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